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ADDRESS

OF THE

HON. RICHARD YATES,

DELIVERED AT THE

GRAND OVATION

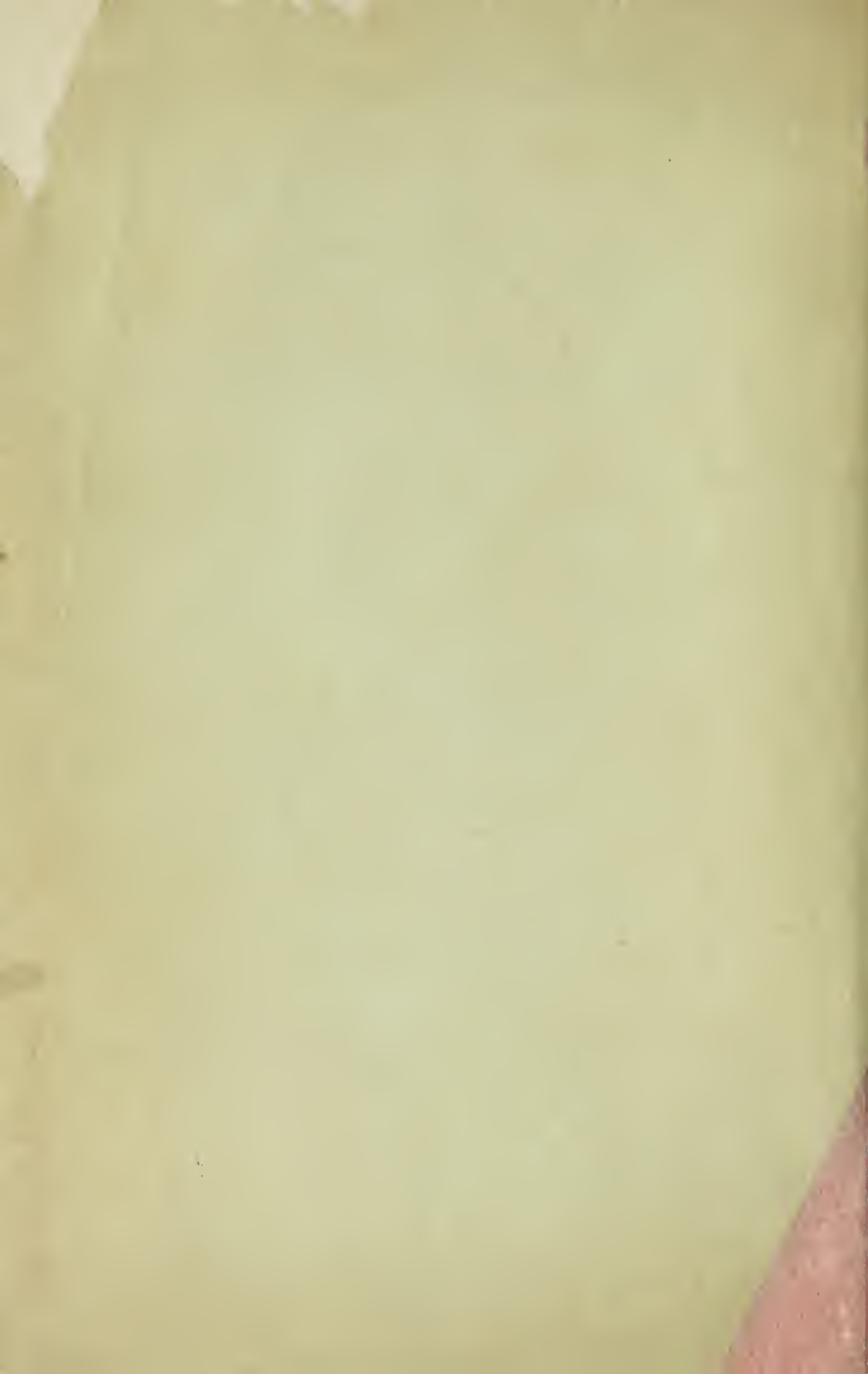
TENDERED HIM BY THE

CITIZENS OF JACKSONVILLE,

In Approval of his Course in the 39th Congress.

Delivered at Strawn's Hall, Saturday Evening, Sept. 15, 1866.

JACKSONVILLE:
JOURNAL STEAM POWER PRESS PRINT.
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CORRESPONDENCE.

JACKSONVILLE, ILL., Sept. 17, 1866.

HON. RICHARD YATES—DEAR SIR:

Having had the pleasure of listening to your eloquent address at Strawn's Hall, on the evening of the 15th inst., we are desirous that your many friends who were unable to hear you on that occasion may read your remarks.

We, therefore, respectfully request a copy for publication, if you can conveniently favor us with the same.

Very respectfully,

J. W. KING,
WM. P. BARR,
J. T. NEWMAN,
OLIVER J. PYATT,
WM. B. JOHNSON,
JOSEPH TOMLINSON,
DAVID M. SIMMONS,
GEO. W. PADGITT,
W. C. WOODMAN,
WM. HAMILTON, JR.,
JOS. J. IRONMONGER,

Committee.

JACKSONVILLE, ILL., Sept. 19, 1866.

Messrs. J. W. King, W. P. Barr, J. T. Newman, Oliver J. Pyatt, and others—
Committee:

GENTLEMEN: I take pleasure in complying with your request, and herewith enclose you a copy of my Address for publication.

I return to you and our fellow-citizens whom you represent my sincere thanks for the beautiful and cordial manner in which you and they have seen fit to express your appreciation of my humble services.

Very respectfully,

RICHARD YATES,

Address of Welcome, by Hon. P. G. Gillett.

Friends, Fellow-Citizens, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Our community is one peculiarly favored in many respects. Seasons of festivity, of honest grateful exultation, are by no means uncommon occurrences among us. We are assembled this evening, however, upon an occasion of no ordinary interest and importance even in Jacksonville. The purpose of our coming together is to do ourselves credit by welcoming to his home, and awarding a well-earned honor to one whose residence among us has made the name of our fair city a household word throughout the land. We are not here merely to while away an hour. Nor is it ours to indulge in fulsome adulation of the living. We live in a time when men are called upon to *act* rather than talk

—act with the living Present,
Heart within and God o'erhead!"

[Applause.] He who exercises the stern and responsible functions of an AMERICAN CITIZEN in the year of grace 1863, when Freedom is threatened with betrayal in the house of its friends, has no time to sport away the hours. All must be in earnest in a time like ours.

RICHARD YATES, our distinguished fellow citizen and townsman, now once more among us, has been, all his life, a thinking, acting, earnest patriot; because as a youth, a citizen, a legislator, a Representative in Congress, a Governor, and now a Senator, he has led the van in the forward march of public sentiment—a true "Richard of the Lion heart." We are here to-night to welcome him back to our home and hearthstones, happy to call him *ours*, and to assure him he has never been absent from our hearts. [Applause.] Because, in the hospital, stretched upon couches of pain and languishing, comforted by the nurses,

and nourished by the supplies he has furnished them; because upon the battle-field in the agonies of death; because always and everywhere he is enshrined in the hearts of Illinois' "boys in blue," whose colors were never struck, and whose backs were never turned on the foe—the "Soldiers' Friend," we welcome him home to-night. [Applause.] Because, when a change of front was made from the field of battle in Dixie to the White House and halls of Congress in Washington, he was as ready to encounter the enemies of Freedom in war of argument as he had been to accommodate them with Illinois valor, endurance and conquest. For all these and other reasons we welcome him home to-night. [Applause.]

SENATOR YATES: It has been made my pleasing duty, in the name of the citizens of Jacksonville—the scene of your youthful struggles, and the success of your manhood; of your domestic felicities and domestic affections—to assure you of their continued regard and affection, to welcome you to our homes and firesides, and to express the sincere and earnest hope that the few weeks of leisure from important public duties may be spent among us, to our mutual interest and profit. And, though I have been forbidden on this occasion to make a speech, yet allow me to say that your neighbors of Jacksonville have watched with peculiar pleasure and pride, during the past year, your noble and manly toils for Liberty, Freedom, and equal and exact Justice.

Fellow citizens, neighbors, I now have the pleasure and honor of presenting to you your own beloved Senator YATES; and I propose that every man, woman and child present join in making the welkin ring with three rousing cheers for Richard the First, of Illinois. [Great cheering.]

ADDRESS.

FELLOW CITIZENS—I should be incapable of the emotions which should swell every heart, did I not return to you, now, my most sincere thanks for the cordial welcome you have given me on this occasion.

But I may first return my hearty acknowledgements to Mr. Gillett, for the graceful and most eloquent manner in which he has expressed your appreciation.

It is true that Jacksonville is my home. From boyhood, and during my manhood, it has been my home; and, to you, my fellow-citizens—to your suffrages and your counsels—I may truly say, I am indebted for the ground-work of whatever success I may have had through my life. Upon the present occasion, however, I am aware of the fact, that it is not simply from your personal regard—which I so highly appreciate—that you extend to me this cordial welcome; but it is from a higher consideration. It is from the consideration that, since we are in the midst of troublous times, and the very destiny of our nation is hanging, perhaps, on a few months of time, you extend to me this welcome because I have been one of that 39th congress, which, despite the blandishments, or the bribes, or the threats, or terrors of Executive power, has maintained itself, self-poised and well-balanced, in

the high and noble purpose of preserving the republic from the dangers which have surrounded it. (Applause.)

I have said that we live in perilous times. Is there a man before me who feels that his footing is entirely safe, even in this land which has been so happy during the years of the past, and whose political foundations we deemed so secure?

I remember well that on the 14th day of April, 1865, this nation was pleased with itself. Four years before that time, horror and indignation seized and inflamed the popular heart and mind, because the flag of the nation was torn by traitor hands from the heights of Sumter. The lurid flames of war shot athwart the horizon of the nation, and the tramp of marshalling hosts, and the pomp of warlike preparation broke the stillness of peace which had so long blessed the land. War came—and such a war—gigantic war—the soil was crimsoned, and our rivers ran purple with human gore. Armies marched and fought, and commanders lost and won their victories, now prosperous, now adverse fortune till, at last, success raised our ensign, Lee's proud army gave way, and victory streamed from all our banners in the North, in the South—upon the land, upon the sea (Applause.)

On that 14th day of April,

1865, the nation's eyes were turned to that same Fort Sumter, where thousands of our loyal countrymen had gone to raise that flag whence traitor hands had pulled it down. The streets of Washington were gay with banners; every house was brilliantly decorated, and Pennsylvania Avenue was a scene of beauty indeed. The incense of our happiness was full, and our thanks went up to God for the victory. Our gratitude went out to our Cabinet, to our skillful generals, to our brave unconquerable army, and to all the men and women of the land, who had labored for the grand results which their skill, and prowess, and great efforts had achieved.

But to one, high above all, did our gratitude go out; not to him as President, but to him as friend, deliverer, saviour, the immortal LINCOLN. (Applause.) It was strange, was it not, that on this day, the one event which, of all others, would most astound, sadden, and throw the nation back upon itself, should, amidst such universal gladness, occur—that the Moses who led us safely through the wilderness of our national troubles—the nation's chief—the nation's hope—the nation's most loved and honored one, who had sunk deeper in the affections of the American heart than any other man—the most magnificent man of the nation and the age; before whom every head in the civilized world was bent in reverence—was it not strange that he should, on that fatal day, be struck down by the hand of a vile assassin in the interest of treason?

His humble origin, his gentleness of manner, his humility, his purity of motive, his unswerving truthfulness, his pure, spotless life and character, and his elevated devotion to his country, had won for him the confidence of the American people. Their

hearts went out to him. They loved him, and leaned upon him with child-like and tender love. His opinions became their opinions; and yet, he modestly gave them credit for great policies, which he had long before conceived and elaborated and resolved to carry into effect. In this way he directed popular opinion, shaped and controlled events and ruled the nation without seeming to rule.

It is a matter of history that he had prepared upon paper his views upon the Amnesty Proclamation, the Emancipation Proclamation, and other great measures, long before his Cabinet or the people had conceived them. He was the educator of statesmen and the people up to the high-water mark of unconditional and universal emancipation. (Applause.)

He was not ambitious; or, rather, he was ambitious; but his ambition was a virtue, and not a vice; an unselfish ambition to serve his country, and be a benefactor of his race. He never sought glory. There was nothing of the vain-glorious pomp and boast of the braggart about him, which men called glory. He never sought office, and in not seeking it, he was driven to its most shining summit; and sat more securely upon fame's proud pinnacle, because careless whether there or not. The Presidency did not ennoble him; he ennobled the Presidency. No office, or rank, or station could come up to the simple majesty and grandeur of character of Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.] In a word it will be said, he was the priceless gift of God to America in a perilous time; and raised up to display in his simple and majestic person, that rugged simplicity, that stern virtue, and unextinguishable love of Liberty, which entitles me to stand here to-night and pronounce him the greatest statesman of the age in which he lived, and a sublime illus-

vation of the fact, that exalted goodness and exalted greatness are one and inseparable. [Applause.]

Fellow-citizens, what a mighty chasm between the lofty altitude of Abraham Lincoln and the infinitesimal littleness of Andrew Johnson. Johnson is vain, egotistical, weak, vacillating, selfish, stubborn, arbitrary; exalted far above his merit; possessing every passion upon which demagogues play; and now, he disgraces himself in the eyes of the nation, and secures the contempt of mankind, for the degradation he is bringing on the high office which has been so gloriously ennobled and dignified by Abraham Lincoln.

He talks about being the Moses of the colored people. Upon the question as to who has been, or who may be the Moses of the colored people, it may not be amiss to refer again to Mr. Lincoln. There were some scenes in the majestic drama of Abraham Lincoln's life which no pen, or painting can portray, nor splendor of eloquence describe. On the 1st day of January, 1865, when vast crowds were pressing along Pennsylvania Avenue to take the hand of Abraham Lincoln, at his New Year's reception—the colored people, who constitute a very large proportion of the population of Washington, and into whose minds it had, somehow or other, crept, that, in the Providence of God, Abraham Lincoln was to be their deliverer, collected in large numbers on the commons fronting the White House. They there patiently waited till the procession went by, that they might pass through and take the President's hand. Then they sent in an humble request to that effect, and were immediately admitted; and when they came and took the President by the hand, it was with blinding tears in their eyes saying "God bless you, Abraham Lincoln!"

He had, indeed, been a Moses to them.

And when Richmond was taken, through some sort of impression, some sort of faith or revelation, the colored people believed, that when the flag floated over the vanquished towers of Richmond they should see their deliverer. The day after the surrender, Mr. Lincoln, without previous notice to the military authorities at Richmond, took his little boy, got into a boat, went up the James river, lauded on the bank, and, unheralded, with no escort, no roll of drums, no triumphal car, was quietly walking to the hotel. Somehow, whether on the wings of the wind, or otherwise, we do not know, the colored people heard of his coming, and in vast multitudes, men, women, and children, from the streets, the cellars, the by-ways, and the alleys, flocked around him and blocked up his way, waving their hats and bonnets, and shouting "Glory to God," "God bless you, Massa Lincoln!" Here was, indeed, a Moses for the poor, down-trodden sons of toil.

I remember another never-to-be-forgotten scene, when the funeral cortege, bearing the President's remains, passed from the White House to the Capitol, along Pennsylvania Avenue, where multiplied thousands, from far and near, had assembled to mourn the loss of the nation's murdered chief; and when every house, window and tree top was covered with those who witnessed the solemn scene. In the close, compact crowd, the poor sons of toil, with weeping eyes and sad hearts mourned, with unutterable sorrow, the death of their great deliverer. They could not be kept back, but pressed forward to pay their last tribute of respect to their great benefactor. When Lincoln looked down from the shining realm, he appreciated the sorrow of

every man in that procession, without distinction of color.

Lincoln, the great Emancipator, was, indeed, a Moses to the colored people. Now, I say, what a chasm there is between that Moses, and this pretended Moses, who is traveling through the country, and dispensing his insane, everlasting twaddle against the true friends of Liberty and Union. A beautiful Moses is he to the colored people, who is for restoring slaveholders to all their old rights; for recognizing slave States, with laws flagrantly outraging the colored people, and who vetoed both the Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights bills, through which alone these people could have security for their lives and property.

I am not here to indulge in abusive epithets towards the President of the United States. I can have sufficient testimony to the fact that I have forborne; that I have made every effort at reconciliation. I love my country, and believe that the salvation of the country depends upon the Republican Union party. I did not wish to see the fruits of victory won from the foe, lost by divisions in our ranks. I was willing to tolerate any differences of opinion that were not material. If the President did not go as far as I did on the Suffrage and Civil Rights questions, I knew that in every honest, intelligent party, there must be a variety of opinions, and that toleration is demanded by every consideration of wisdom and public safety. I relied upon a promise, which, now, it seems, he treacherously made, that his quarrels in the Republican party should be fought out within the ranks of that party. I relied upon this promise, and in the various speeches which I made in Congress, did not utter a word against Andrew Johnson; and it was not until I saw that he was turning the warm, bosom friends of Mr. Lincoln out of his Cab-

inet, and out of offices, everywhere, and that he was taking vile traitors, and copperheads to his bosom, that I resolved to oppose him.

The Union majority in Congress forbore with the President, until longer forbearance ceased to be a virtue. Senator Trumbull has testified to you that when he drew up the Freedmen's Bureau bill, he went in person to the President and submitted it to him, and he approved it; that, after the bill was printed, he sent it to the President and he still found no objection. So of the Civil Rights bill.—Senator Trumbull has stated in several of his speeches, that he submitted a printed copy to the President, and requested him to suggest any objections, any defects, or amendments; and that he found no objection. And yet he treacherously sent in his veto to both of these bills, although they contained not a solitary provision which he had not before, in his speeches, messages and acts, fully sanctioned. Now, is not here an evidence of conciliation on our part? For Judge Trumbull, in these efforts at conciliation, was carrying out the wishes of the Republican Union party of Congress.

You may ask why, in the first instance, we voted for Johnson? We had good reasons for doing so. His record, just before and during the rebellion, had been fair, and he was chosen in the place of the former Vice President, who was a noble patriot and statesman, as an evidence of the desire of the Republican party to have all sections represented, and as proof of its opposition to any merely sectional party. The position taken by Mr. Johnson had been such as the most radical of the Republicans could approve. In the Senate chamber he had been a most eloquent champion of the Union; and his denunciations of Jeff. Davis and his allies upon the

Senate floor were the most bitter and withering of which the English language affords an example. He said, in the Senate, March 2, 1861, speaking of these traitors: "I would have them arrested and tried for treason, and, if convicted, by the Eternal God, they should suffer the penalty of the law at the hands of the executioner. Sir, treason must be punished." As a member of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, he gave his hearty consent and co-operation to every measure proposed for a vigorous prosecution of the war. When appointed provisional Governor of Tennessee, he co-operated with the President and Congress in every measure to put down the rebellion. He accepted an invitation to address, and did address, a large body of the colored people of his own State, at Nashville, and told them he hoped a Moses would arise to lead them to freedom, and, if no other Moses arose, *he* would be their Moses. He repeatedly declared that he would be for giving the intelligent portion of the colored people the right to vote. He also repeatedly declared that he was willing to give suffrage to all colored men who had fought for the flag. You all remember his letter to Governor Sharkey, after he became President, in which he recommended that the State of Mississippi should amend her Constitution so as "to deny to all future Legislatures the power to legislate that there is property in man," and also that "the elective franchise be extended to all persons of color who can read the Constitution of the United States, in English, and write their names; and to all persons of color who own real estate valued at not less than two hundred and fifty dollars;" (a proposition which I repudiate, because it is manhood, not property, which should be the basis of suffrage.) I spoke from the same stand with Andrew Johnson, in

front of the Patent Office, after the fall of Richmond, and heard him say several times, in substance, that "if he were President, whenever he found a secessionist, or a traitor, he would arrest him, try him, and, if found guilty, by the Eternal he would hang him till he was dead, dead, dead." At the head of Courtney street, on Broadway, New York, some impudent fellow, at his reception, hung across the street a motto taken from one of the President's speeches, "show me the man who makes war upon the Government, who fires upon our forts, or upon our ships, and I will show you a traitor; and if I were President, I would arrest him, try him, and, if convicted, by the Eternal God, I would hang him." (Applause.) Why, even the most radical of us were, ~~we~~ supposed, right in overlooking the claims of that tried patriot, Hannibal Hamlin, (alas! unfortunate mistake) and claiming him as one of the most radical of our party. It is stated in Scripture, that the one most trusted by the Saviour, and who dipped with him in the same dish, thus giving grounds to infer, that when all others might betray him he would stand firmly by him, was the first to betray his Lord. And so now, the greatest traitor to the people, to the Union, to the party that elected him, to Truth, Justice, Honor and Principle, is the man who is ever saying, "Here I take my stand, and all the powers of hell shall not drive me from my position."

Is it not strange that, as he stood at the grave of Douglas, his knees did not smite together like Belshazzar's, as a voice came up from the tomb, saying, "There are but two parties, patriots and traitors." (Applause.) How dare he stand by the grave of Lincoln! Did not a voice come up from the tomb saying, "You have been faithless to your pledges; you have been untrue to your party, untrue

to the people, untrue to your country; true only to traitors, to Jeff. Davis, to Booth, and faithful only to the principles and purposes for which I was foully murdered." (Immense cheering.)

Fellow-citizens: The issue that is before us is plain, distinct, and well-defined. Congress has taken the position that they will never admit into fellowship the representatives of any State of this Union till they are satisfied that that State is purified of its treason, and is loyal to the Government. (Applause.) And they must have some indemnity for the past, or, at all events, a guarantee of security for the future. The President, on the other hand, says that, notwithstanding what these rebels have done, notwithstanding they violated their oaths when they swore as Senators and Representatives, and as civil and military officers under the Government, to support and maintain the Constitution of the United States, left their seats in Congress, and their posts in the army of the United States, from which they had received their education at public expense; notwithstanding they organized and supported independent Governments, established separate Constitutions, and adopted their own laws, and attempted to subvert the Constitution and Government of the United States, and to establish upon its ruins a government of a different theory, whose corner-stone was human slavery; notwithstanding they have shrouded the land in mourning; notwithstanding 500,000 graves have been made by their acts, Andrew Johnson demands that we shall receive these men as Representatives from those States before they have, as we maintain, given us any evidence of repentance. (Cries of "No, no, never.") This is the issue between Congress and the President. It is a vital and mighty issue, and upon its

solution depends the existence and perpetuity of this Government in all time to come.

The President is making his "circle around the country, fighting treason at this end of the line;" and his argument is that the States have never been out of the Union, and because they have never been out of the Union, therefore they are entitled to representation. Now, sir, as Mr. Lincoln well said, the question whether they are in or out of the Union, is "a most pernicious abstraction." It is sufficient to know that whether in or out of the Union, they have stood in a hostile attitude to the Government. I am willing to agree with the President, that they have never been out of the Union; that's what we were fighting about, and we whipped them, and made them stay in; the territory remains, the people remain, and the territory, people and States are subject to the Constitutional authority of the Federal Government in spite of their treason. But, are they any the less traitors and criminals because they could not take their States out of the Union? Does not treason, in the language of the Constitution, consist in "levying war against the United States?" And have they not levied war against the United States? Did they not prosecute that war with a bravery and desperation worthy of a better cause, for four long years, and with a ferocious cruelty to prisoners of war, citizens of the United States, unparalleled in the annals of savage warfare? Did they not, by attempting to overthrow the Government, and by their bold and bloody treason, forfeit every right to life, liberty and property, and every right to representation, as fully as if the States were out of the Union? If so, why does Andrew Johnson go vociferating about the country his senseless gabble, that the States are not

out of the Union? Did he not treat them as being in full fellowship in the Union, and not as exercising their full functions as States in the Union, when he appointed military or provisional governors, and when he dictated to them that they should adopt the Constitutional amendment abolishing slavery? He cannot pretend that they were in the Union as Illinois or New York is in the Union, because he would not dare to appoint provisional governors for them.

Why did he refuse to sanction the terms of surrender agreed upon by Sherman with Johnston? You remember those terms. Gen. Sherman, anxious to prevent the further effusion of blood, agreed, if Johnston would surrender his armies, they were to be restored to all their rights, civil and political, such as they had before the war. Now this is precisely what Andrew Johnson and his Philadelphia Convention of August 14th say these rebel States should have, namely, all their political and civil rights, including the right to representation, as they enjoyed them before the war. Yet, sir, Andrew Johnson issued his order countermanding this settlement on the part of Sherman, and why? Because the loyal people of the North, and Andrew Johnson himself, condemned these terms upon the ground that the war would have been in vain, the blood and treasure of the nation would have been expended in vain, if the rebels were to be restored to all their rights as before the war, without any indemnity for the past, or security for the future. But, now, sir, Andrew Johnson proposes to go back and adopt the very terms of that surrender, and confer upon the rebels every right they had before the war, inflicting no punishment for their Heaven-daring crimes, and requiring no guaranties for their future good

behavior and faithful allegiance to the Constitution and laws.

I know it is asked, "When a loyal representative presents himself in Congress, why not receive him?"—That is stating the question in the strongest terms for the other side. The answer is this: Our Government is based upon constituency. It is not the right of representatives in Congress; it is the right of constituencies which is to be recognized. Suppose a loyal constituency to send a disloyal representative to Congress, would you accept him? (No, no.) You say no, because he misrepresents his constituency. Now suppose a disloyal constituency send a loyal member, upon the same reasoning you must refuse to receive him because he does not truly represent his constituents. The principle is this: the constituents must be correctly represented, and you will see that a disloyal constituency may send a loyal member to Congress for the purpose of securing a principle or precedent of admission, and he can immediately resign, and they can send a disloyal man in his place.

The proposition of Congress, as contained in the proposed constitutional amendment, is one of the most unanimous ever submitted by conquerors to a vanquished foe. It is simply that these States shall be received upon the adoption of an amendment, which is now proposed for ratification by the States. It is not a proposition to keep out any loyal State. Tennessee has been received. She has complied with the requirements of Congress, and by the admission of Tennessee we have shown, on our part, a disposition whenever a State approximates to loyalty, to extend the hand of fellowship and receive her into the Union. (Applause.) All that we require is, that we have a fair and explicit understanding on this

subject. The amendment provides that the rebel debt shall never be paid. Is not that correct doctrine? (Voices, "yes.") Well, if so, put it in the bond, in the Constitution. They have violated their oaths. Shall we now take simply their word? (Cries of no.) They have an interest in the payment of the rebel debt. Shall we not have it irrevocably in the Constitution that it is not to be paid? (Yes, yes.) The amendment provides further that the national debt shall never be repudiated. Is not that right? (Yes.) If so, why not put it in the bond? in the Constitution of the United States, and make it forever irrepealable? It also provides that rebels who have taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and have afterwards joined the rebel army, and attempted to overthrow the Government and trample under foot our flag shall never hold office under the Government of the United States. (Cheers and applause.) Well, if this is right, let us put it in the Constitution. Follow the wise example of our fathers. At the end of the Revolutionary war every State of the Union except South Carolina, while it extended amnesty to the Tories, and gave them their lives and property, provided that the Tories should never hold office under the government. (Applause.) South Carolina did not make this provision, and she has not had a Republican form of government to this day. Even her Governor is elected by the Legislature, and not by the people. If it is right that these rebel leaders should not come back to hold the offices of the Government which they fought to destroy, put it in the Constitution.

The amendment also provides for the equalization of representation between the States, by basing it upon actual voters. Under the Constitution, as it stood before the amendment abolish-

ing slavery, you will remember that representation was counted to each State upon the basis of free persons and three-fifths of its slaves. In the United States there were, according to the census of 1860, 3,350,500 slaves.—Three-fifths of those slaves gave to the slave States eighteen representatives. Now, by the former amendment, which abolished slavery, the two-fifths which were not represented have become free, and are entitled to representation, which gives the Southern States 12 additional representatives. So that the Southern States have 30 representatives in Congress for their blacks alone. In other words, the white people of the South would vote for their blacks thirty votes in the electoral college, and also in Congress, and thus the representatives of blacks in those States being thirty in number, would equal in power in the National Legislature, the entire States of Ohio and Indiana. And yet the opponents of the amendment say that they are for a *white man's government*, while they contend for a representation of 30 votes in Congress for blacks alone. [Laughter and applause.]

Now, fellow-citizens, if those white people had all been loyal down there, you would not be willing to have that sort of representation come in competition with yours, would you? [A voice, "No."] On the other hand, they have been traitors to the Government; and are you willing now, that they should have a representation for their blacks in addition to their equal share with yourselves, equal to those great states, Ohio and Indiana? [Loud cries, "No, no."] This amendment proposes that every free white person in the South shall have a representation equal to that of a white person in the North; and if they intend to have a further representation they shall not vote for the negroes, but shall let the negroes vote

for themselves. [Cheers and applause.] Isn't this fair? [Voices, "Yes."] South Carolina has 200,000 white population, and 400,000 blacks. Shall 200,000 whites in South Carolina cast as many votes, and have as much influence in the Government as 600,000 free white citizens of Illinois? [A voice, "No, never."] Shall a white traitor in the South exercise a power equal to three loyal white people in the North? [Voices, "No, no."] That is a plain proposition.

I confess to you, fellow-citizens, that I should have gone further than Congress did. I am for standing by my friends, and not by my enemies; and if we allowed a traitor to vote who had raised his arm to pull down the flag, I would have said, allow, also, those 200,000 black soldiers to vote who bore the flag aloft in the face of Jeff. Davis and his rebel hordes. I would allow the right to my friends as well as to my enemies. [Loud applause.] I will take no back track in this matter; but while this is true, I yield to the amendment. It was the best thing I could do, and I am in favor of it. It will finally work out the same results; for I am here to say to you, fellow-citizens, that none will be able to stay this consummation, the right of every one to the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. I am for the Englishman, the American, the German, the African; and I am especially for the Irishman at this time, when he is standing up for his rights. [Cheers.] I hope to see the happy day come, when Ireland shall, in the pride of her power, glory in an independent and separate nationality, and we shall send to the Republic of the Emerald Isle, a duly accredited minister of the United States. [Applause.] I have no particular affection for the English Government just now. I remember the Trent surrender, and the attack

of the Alabama on the Kearsarge; and if the time shall ever come, that a fight shall be between England and Ireland, I am in favor of returning to England her own interpretation of international neutrality, by sending our Kearsarges after her Alabamas. [Immense applause.] I am for liberty everywhere. I am for the Monroe doctrine, and against Maximilian and all tyrants the world over— [Cheers.] The party to which I belong is the only party which can carry out this grand reform of human progress, and establish liberty on every foot of American soil. [Cheers.] These are the principles upon which I stand. They are living, inextinguishable, and immortal, and the gates of death and hell shall not prevail against them. [Loud cheering.]

But, fellow-citizens, I have said this amendment is magnanimous.— There is nothing *radical* in it. It is so fair, that neither traitors or copperheads can object to it. It is simply that their white people in the South, in proportion to their numbers, shall have as many votes as our white people in the North; and if negroes are to vote, *they* are to confer upon them that right, and not *we*.— (voices "That's right.") So that when a copperhead says we are contending for universal suffrage, I say that the amendment does not impose universal suffrage; nor even impartial suffrage—nothing that goes so far as President Johnson did in his letter to Gov. Sharkey recommending "suffrage to such colored persons as could read and write, or who owned property to the amount of \$250." It confers the right on each State to say who shall vote, but they shall not have representatives for their colored people till they give them the right to vote. Is it unreasonable or vindictive to demand of rebel States which have attempted to overthrow the Govern-

ment, that in restoring them to the family whose happiness they have tried to destroy, they shall not have greater power in proportion to numbers, than the States which through evil and through good report, have been true and faithful to the Constitution, Union, and happiness of the whole? Shall we, instead of awarding the rebels the just punishment due for their enormous offenses, reward them for their treason, by giving them a larger representation, and more power than they had before the rebellion commenced? (No, no.)

Now, fellow-citizens, I ask you, if as your representative, I ought to cast my vote for the admission of representatives from these rebellious States, till they give some evidence of loyalty? (Cries of no, no.) They say they surrendered in good faith. They surrendered because they were whipped. (Laughter.) Every thief that goes to the penitentiary surrenders in good faith; but the question is "has the thief become an honest man." The question is, "has the traitor become loyal to the Government?" When they come as the prodigal came, saying to the nation "we have sinned against Heaven and in thy sight, and are no more worthy to be called thy sons; make us as one of thy hired servants;" when they have become tired of eating husks and penitently say "we will go to the house of our father, where there is bread enough, and to spare;" I shall be ready to run and meet them, and to put the best robes upon them, to put rings upon their fingers, to kill fatted calves for them, and to make merry over these sons "who were lost and are now found again." But is this the kind of penitence they now bring to the loyal millions who have subdued them. Alexander Stephens says "no, we must not be humiliated." "We must come under the

Constitution of the United States." We ask Mr. Stephens, "have you exchanged your opinions any?" "Are you sorry for what you have done." "We are sorry we are whipped." "Are you not as much secessionists as you ever were?" "Yes; but still we are willing to accept the situation and to take part with you in running the Government." They don't propose to come and stay on the outside, but to rule the Government which they tried to destroy. They propose to fight us with the bayonet as long as they please, and then to vote us down with the ballot. Why are they out? Who expelled them? Didn't they go out of their own accord? Haven't they been swearing and fighting to stay out for five years? and now they swear just as defiantly that they will come in. (Applause and laughter.) Some have been striving to go out for thirty years, and now expect to come back in thirty days.

Fellow-citizens, we want some assurance that this government is not again to be put in peril. Why, sirs, I as Governor raised 250,000 volunteers, and sent them to the battle-field to triumph or die. They left their homes and went forth to battle; slept in the swamps, climbed the mountain heights, and trudged through mud, and rain and snow. They carried our flag in triumph. (Applause.) Thousands returned saying "I lost this arm as I scaled the heights of Donelson." "I lost this leg at the battle of Chickamauga." "I lost this eye in the thickets of the Wilderness." And thousands and hundreds of thousands sleep their last sleep on the banks of the Mississippi, the Tennessee and the Cumberland, on the heights of Lookout Mountain, and in the sands of the ocean shore. And, now, am I their representative in Congress, by my

vote, to give over the Government to the men whose hands are stained with the blood of my brave boys and write upon the hillocks which cover the bones of the noble dead. "Died in vain?" (Never, and loud applause.) Those who opposed the war may, but do not expect me as your Senator, to surrender this Government to rebels. (Renewed applause.) We fought to overcome secession, and yet you propose to allow these secessionists to come with hypocritical smiles upon their faces and bowie-knives in their sleeves to take possession of this Government again.

I was at the Philadelphia Convention on the 14th day of August last. I was at that harmonious Convention of the Johnson-copperhead-rebel party [cheers]; and although I was not inside, I was in the audience where I could see what was transpiring.—What was that Convention composed of? Men defeated at the polls, and men defeated on the field of battle. It was composed of copperheads in the North; demagogues, and men who were opposed to the war, and voted it a failure; who resisted the draft; who chuckled when they heard of our defeat in any of the battles fought; and when they heard the news of our victories said the telegraph lied; who didn't fight themselves, and persuaded others from fighting. Then, next, were the traitors from the South, from whose hands the stains of Union blood was not yet washed. There were, however, a few office seekers of the "bread-and-butter brigade." [Voices, "Ketcham."] I haven't made any personal allusions. [Laughter.] The peace Democrats there said they did not see any difference between themselves and Southern rebels, and I confess I did not. [Laughter.] I care not what your professions are, when-

ever you join hands with bloody rebels in convention you become *one of them*. You say there was great harmony. "Extremes meet," said Ben. Butler's dog, when in pursuit of his tail, but after all it was the different ends of the same dog sticking together. [Renewed laughter.] It *was* a most harmonious convention, because they allowed no debate. They referred their resolutions without debate, to a committee, to say whether they were right or not.

You know it is a part of natural history that almost all races and tribes and families disagree. Society has its disagreements. The beasts of the field, and the songsters of the trees and meadows, have their quarrels; but natural history says there is one tribe in which there is entire harmony, that is the snake tribe. (Shouts of laughter.) The rattlesnake is the emblem of South Carolina; and I was not surprised when I saw the magnanimous rattlesnake of South Carolina enter the Johnson wigwam arm in arm with the treacherous copperhead of Massachusetts. (Laughter.)

Fellow citizens, I was at another convention in Philadelphia. One hundred and fifty thousand people assembled on Broad street on that occasion. There were the true loyal men of the South. There was no stain of their brother's blood on their hands. There was no guilt of perjury on their souls. There was no crime of treason railing in their bosoms with malignant hate, because they could not have control of the nation. They have endured persecutions at the South and were exiled for their love of the Union. I tell you, my friends, that was one of the grandest sights mortal eyes ever beheld—the largest multitude of people ever assembled in Independence City. One hundred and fifty thousand people surrounding eleven stands; the long procession of the "Boys in Blue," and the "Invinci-

bles," with their torches and transparencies, and blazing rockets, and mottoes. It was like a prairie fire in the olden time before the settlements, when the grass was tall and dry in autumn, when the smoke heavenward towered, and sheets of flame went crackling, leaping, dashing, roaring and surging across the plain, like the billows of an ocean all on fire. (Applause.) Aye, sir, at such times, wolves and copperheads ran for their holes. (Laughter.)

But, fellow citizens, you ask me how long I would keep these traitors out of the Government? Well, I am in no particular hurry about it. (Laughter.) I didn't send them out. They went out of their own accord from the best and most benignant Government on earth, and without the slightest provocation, and with a most wicked and devilish spirit. I am for their coming back when we want them to come, and not at a time of their choosing. (Cheers.) Who is to decide this question, the loyal millions or the rebels and traitors? Who is to decide it, the loyal millions through their representatives in Congress, the body to whom the Constitution has assigned that duty, or the President, who has gone over to Jeff. Davis and the copperheads?

It is proposed that Stephens and such other rebels as may be elected to Congress, shall take their seats and shall decide whether the Government shall pay the rebel debt, or whether compensation shall be made for slaves, &c. They are to be jurors and judges to sit upon their own trials. Well, sir, if a burglar could be one of the jury that tried him, I guess he would be acquitted, or there would be a hung jury. (Laughter.) I am for their coming in when they are fit to come. God knows I would like to see the Union restored, with all its stars and stripes, and I will hold out

the hand of fellowship to every State where I believe there is a true and safe loyalty; but I want a permanent Union, and as Mr. Lincoln said, I want "peace to come and to stay."

Now, my fellow-citizens, am I not right in this? (Yes.) Let me ask you in all candor, are they *fit* to come in? Answer one question, and that decides the whole matter. Do you suppose that any of you can go down South and express your sentiments freely, in safety? No; and yet the Constitution of the United States guarantees to the "citizens of each State all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." I have seen hundreds of the loyal Southern men, at the Convention in Philadelphia, who tell me there is no safety for life or property in those States, either for colored men or for loyal white men.

Will you take these men back in sight of the flames of Memphis?—in sight of the bloody murders of New Orleans? If I had time I could demonstrate that the New Orleans Convention was a lawful body and lawfully assembled; but whether lawful or unlawful, the facts go to indicate and prove that the assault upon it was a deliberate conspiracy to murder the members of that Convention. Phil. Sheridan, on the 2d day of August, telegraphed to General Grant (which telegraph was suppressed by the President,) as follows:

"It was no riot; it was an absolute massacre by the police, which was not exceeded in barbarous cruelty by that of Fort Pillow. It was a murder which the mayor and police of this city perpetrated without a shadow of necessity. Furthermore, I believe it was premeditated and pre-arranged."

He had, on the first of August, telegraphed that the mayor had "in his absence suppressed the Convention by

the use of his police force, and in so doing attacked the members of the Convention, and a party of two hundred negroes, with fire-arms, clubs, and knives, in a manner so unnecessary and atrocious as to compel me to say it was murder." This part of the dispatch was also suppressed by the President; and, I ask you, for what motive, except to conceal from the people the evidence of his own malfeasance in not preventing the riot as he was requested to do. I will not pursue details of that horrible tragedy.

While a minister of devoted piety and high standing was offering up a prayer to God, this vile mob of traitors under Mayor Monroe, whom Mr. Johnson had pardoned to take that office—made the murderous attack upon the Convention. The minister, who was a brave as well as a good man, said "he would go and appeal to the mob—they would not hurt him." He took a small American flag, tied a white handkerchief around it, went out into the crowd, and they pounded him to pieces. They should be received into this nation, should they? And these murders are justified by Andrew Johnson in his speech at St. Louis. "Oh shame, where is thy blush!"

How long will I keep them out? Till every American citizen can travel to every village and hamlet in these States and speak his sentiments freely and be protected in his property and enjoy his Constitutional rights; till there are no skeletons of loyal men hung to the trees by the highways; till the flag of our country is no longer insulted, and till they do away with these grievances; I will keep them out till Gabriel's last trump shall sound (Cries of good, good, and applause so loud that the remainder of the sentence could not be heard.) I don't wish to make threats, and I will not be threatened.

I will not threaten Andrew Johnson, and he shall not threaten me. When he says he can be Dictator it is a threat to the people.

When Seward says, "Will you have Andrew Johnson for President or king?" I tell you that it makes the blood of every American citizen leap through the arteries of his frame that any man dares to suggest such an idea. (Applause.) O tempora, O mores! Are not the times sadly out of joint when large numbers of the leaders of the Johnson rebel party are looking to the overthrow of congress and the regularly constituted authorities of the Government, and to the establishment of usurped authority in their places?

Passing over the threats of Garret Davis and the Southern press, and a portion of the Northern copperhead press, is it not time, I ask, to have the sentinels of liberty on the watch tower, when Montgomery Blair, the dismissed Postmaster General of Mr. Lincoln, and now the highest accredited minister of Andrew Johnson in preaching "my policy", is day by day with Satanic coolness threatening the people with two Congresses?

The plan seems to be to elect twenty-five copperhead representatives in districts now represented by loyal men, and these, added to the copperhead representatives now in Congress and to the delegation from the rebel States, will constitute a majority, and they will apply to the President for recognition, which he will grant.

The loyal representatives will then impeach the President, and we will have civil war. They are thus by threats like these attempting to intimidate the people, and induce them to surrender their rights. Fellow citizens, not only as a citizen but as a Senator, I defy them; (loud cheers,) and I will say to Montgomery Blair and Andrew Johnson, that so far as

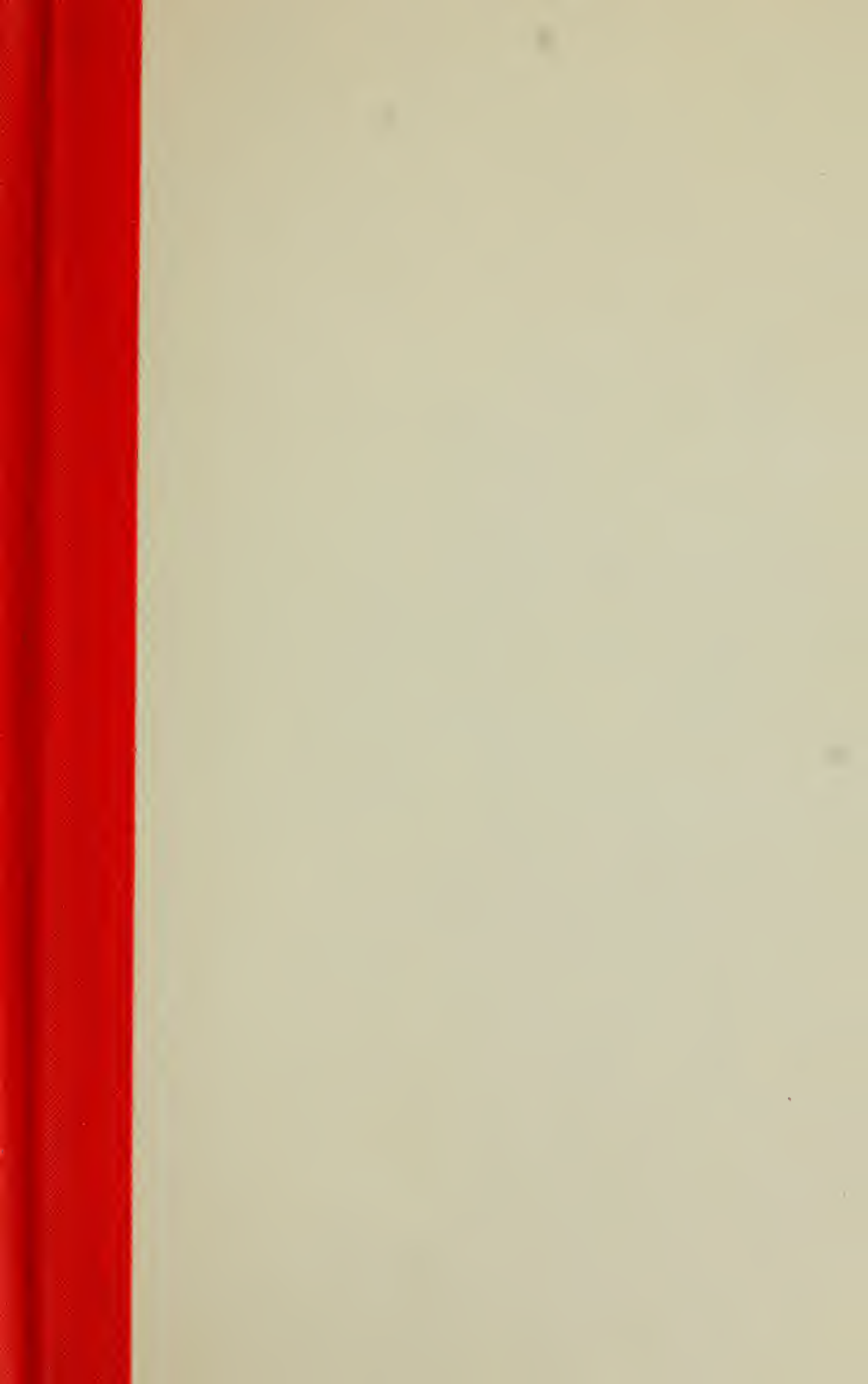
Illinois is concerned, she raised 250,000 troops before; but when another attempt is made to overthrow the Government, 500,000 swords will leap from their scabbards to put it down. (Great applause.) The rebels of the South will again reckon without their host. The Northern copperheads, whatever may be their personal courage, will not expose themselves in battle in such a cause. No, sir, they dare not raise their hands against the flag. Why did they not join Morgan and Lee in their Northern raids? Let all conspirators against the liberties of this country take due and timely notice, that the loyal millions will meet them at Phillippi. You shall not tear the temple of liberty down. (Immense applause.)

Fellow citizens, I did not intend to occupy your time so long, (voices, "go on, go on,") but I wish to warn you that *there is real danger*. Not that we will not finally triumph and save this Government—for we will—but there is real danger of civil war.—There is no question in my mind, nor in the minds of distinguished Senators with whom I have conversed, that the conspiracy to which I have referred is widely brewing, and that the Catalines are not few in numbers. Andrew Johnson is soured and stands precisely in the same attitude to the American people in which Jeff. Davis stood before the war.—There is no particle of difference whatever, except that Jeff. Davis was truer to his professions; he was an educated secessionist, and had the plausible excuse that he was fighting for his State; but Johnson has broken his word, betrayed his friends and joined the enemies of his country. He intends to have power. He is a weak

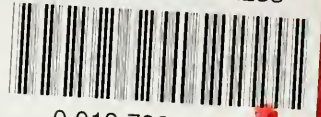
man of fierce passions, and one upon whom demagogues can play and are playing. He is not surrounded by the patriots of the country, but by copperheads, secessionists and rebels, and is ready to recognize an unlawfully constituted Congress, which is an usurpation, and will necessarily bring civil war.

Now you see that our only plan is by an overwhelming demonstration at the polls to show that any attempt at usurpation, by rebels, copperheads and Andrew Johnson will be futile? Thank God, we know what that demonstration will be. We have already heard a glorious shout from Maine, which has rolled up a loyal majority of 30,000. [Cheers and prolonged applause.] There is no doubt in my mind that Pennsylvania will give 40,000 majority, and we shall carry every northern State. Instead of their gaining twenty-five representatives, they will not gain one. I believe we shall carry every doubtful State, district and county in the nation, and I hail the day when old Morgan shall come out with her banner to the sun in favor of liberty and the Union.—[Great applause.] There is no question about it if you will do your duty.

I have spoken longer than I intended, ("go on, go on,") but in closing I must refer again to this grand reception, and thank you for it—and wherever I may go, my eyes shall turn back to this scene, as one of the greenest spots in the waste of memory, and I shall have the pleasing consciousness that however others may feel towards me, I have the respect and confidence of my neighbors, and a happy home among my fellow-citizens of Morgan county. [Loud applause.]



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